1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the windward side, the other being open. They have little areas before the most of them, which are generally planted round with trees, or shrubs of ornament, whose fragrancy perfumes the very air in which they breathe.

Again, in 1777, Cook (19, vol. 1, p. 314) describes Tongatabu, as he saw it on "an excursion into the country," in the following words:

> We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced around. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and, yet, even those were useful, in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island.

The nearest approach to a village, observed by Cook was the capital Mua (the modern villages of Lapaha and Tatakamotonga), where the principal chiefs of Tongatabu dwelt, especially when attending the court of the Tui Tonga.

A map of Tongatabu Island, published in 1810 by Vason (60), although doubtless inaccurate as to details, shows the great road traversing the length of Tongatabu and the numerous lanes separating the farms.

La Perouse (47, vol. 2, pp. 171, 172) describes the south coast of Tongatabu as follows:

> As the wind was to the north, I steered towards the south coast of the island, which is very free from danger, and may be approached within three musket-shots. The sea broke furiously all along the coast; but the breakers were upon the shore; and beyond them we perceived the most luxuriant orchards. All the island appeared to be cultivated; the fields, which were beautifully green, were bordered with trees . . . The huts of the islanders were not collected together in villages, but dispersed over the fields, like the farm-houses in our best cultivated plains.

In 1793 conditions seemed to be unchanged, for Labillardière (37, vol. 2, pp. 135, 136, 153) says:

> In advancing to the westward, we went over a vast enclosure formed by palisades, the stakes of which, placed obliquely, were pretty close to each other, and in the middle of which grew the bread-fruit tree, the plantain-tree, the fan palm, *corypha umbraculifera*, &c. Farther on, we found, within a fence not near so extensive, a small hut, of a conical form, in which we learnt were deposited the remains of a chief lately dead; and we were also informed that it was forbidden to enter it.
>
> We then walked, for near a quarter of an hour, along a narrow road lined with palisades on both sides: we followed it as far as a very large lawn, where King Toobou was shortly to make his appearance. . . .
>
> We soon after entered the fields, where we saw each individual's ground divided into small plots, surrounded by palisades, and in a high state of cultivation.

The missionaries who took up their residence in 1797 speak of certain places as the residences of chiefs—for example, Haateiho and Mua (spelled

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *tamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama (16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

gination can well conceive, and constituting a species of scenery, which, in proportion as it is more rare, is more admired by the natives. To this retired spot you proceed along a road which runs through the whole length of the plantation, till you arrive at a thick wood of *tamanoo* and *toa* trees, situated on a very steep descent, down which the road becomes a narrow path, winding from side to side, and beset on either hand with the *myíle* and *jiále*, and other shrubs, planted by the liberal hand of nature, whose variegated flowers perfume the air with the most delightful aromatic fragrance; whilst, from the lofty branches of the trees, the ear is soothed with the soft and plaintive voice of the wood-pigeon calling to his mate. Having proceeded with slow and lingering step along this winding path, for about five hundred yards, a flat plantation of cocoa-nut trees presents itself, through which, at a little distance, a beautiful prospect of the sea suddenly bursts upon the view. On each side a steep and lofty ridge of rocks, in the form of a crescent, extends into the water, forming a sort of bay. The ridge of rocks on the left hand are, for the most part, the highest, but, at the termination of that on the right, one, loftier than the rest, extends upwards to a great height, like the turret of some ancient battlement.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

361 foot. During the dry season, they are quite adequate for
491 foot or horse traffic. Each householder in the village and
(653) each plantation-holder in the bush is responsible for keeping
that part of the road which runs past his house or plantation
487 free from high grass or obstructions. Numerous tracks
361 intersect the village winding from house to house, defined according to amount of use.

THE PEOPLE

565 The people of Pangai village, as will be stressed through-
621 out these notes, are commoners. Tongan society is today a stratified hierarchy with royalty and nobles at the top of the social scale, the common people at the bottom. In some villages, a high chief or noble[6] has his permanent residence. In Pangai this is not the case. Pangai island is a royal estate. The only resident in the village who claims some
(554) modicum of chiefly status is Koloamatangi, overseer of the
(502) estate. He is not a noble but stands with certain limited authority at the head of the village both because of his position as overseer and because his position as pilot for the port of Vava'u brings him sufficient pilot-fees each year to give him a more than average annual monetary income. For the rest, the villagers are just Tongans of the commoner class. Some may hint vaguely at distant relationships to some noble. In practice all disregard such hints. All think of themselves as commoners whose job in life is to work the land, to get what food and money is necessary, to obtain what pleasures life may have in store for them, to take what pains with as much fortitude as they can muster. The only significance of the following notes is that they attempt to explore some facets of this commoner life that are not yet adequately defined in published Tongan ethnologies.

CONTACT WITH WHITES

177 The attitude of the villager to non-Tongans is difficult
609 to characterize. Excluding a few half-castes and other Pacific islanders, the non-Tongans with whom the villager

565 [6] Within the chiefly class, the present-day Tongan social system
423 distinguishes between nobles and chiefs. Nobles are those chiefs
622 who retain by royal grant their hereditary lands *(tofia)*. Chiefs are those other members of this class who have not retained any hereditary lands or estates but yet are chiefs because of their hereditarily-established status.

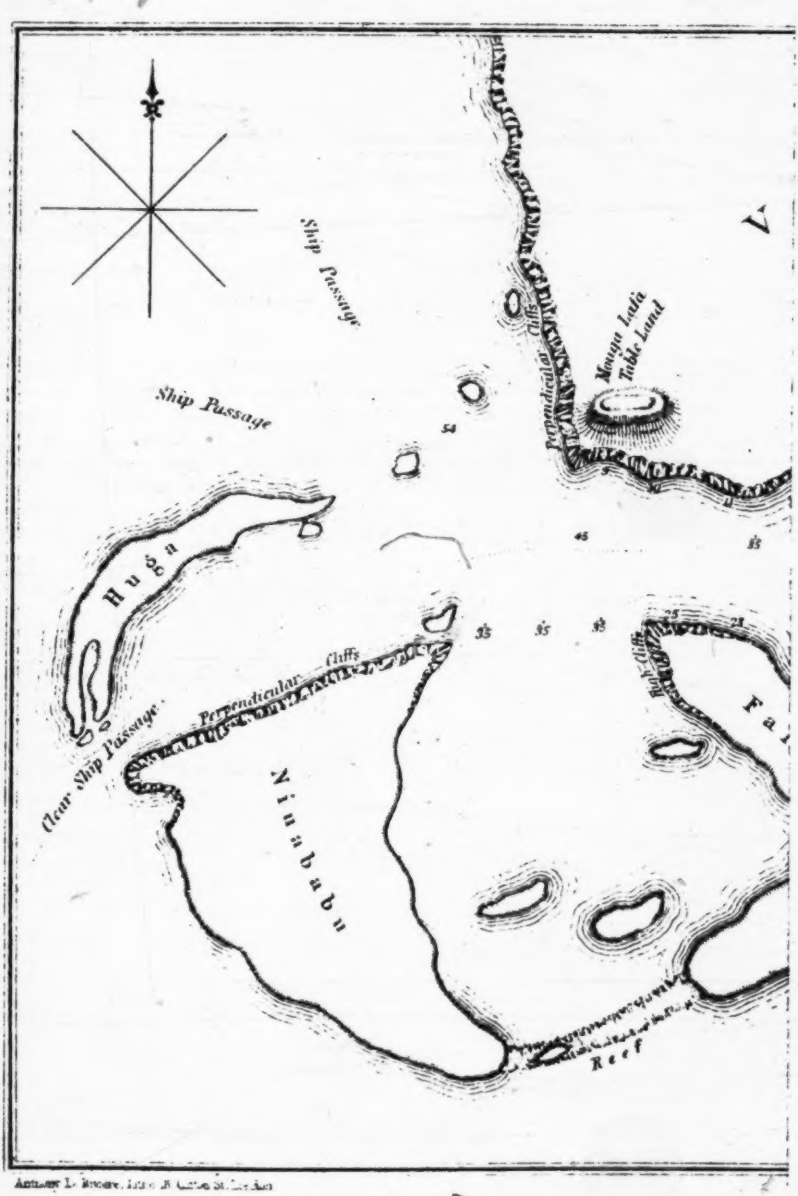
22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VII.

THE harbour of Vavau, or Port Refuge—Suitability for a Naval Rendezvous—The first steam-ship across the Pacific—Rise of Christianity in Vavau—Finau Ulukalala—A sailor's letter for a Missionary—Finau persecutes the Christians—The first disciples—Their flight and conduct in Haabai—Taufa-ahau visits Vavau—Ulukalala's conversion—Burning of heathen temples and idols—Wrath of the heathen—Attempted war—A bloodless victory—Death of Ulukalala—Accession of King George—A great religious awakening—Attempt by the Romish Priests—The first code of laws—State of Vavau in 1846—Another great religious movement—Permanent results.

504 133 (103) 133 114 504 THE harbour of Vavau has been long known to the English Admiralty by the name of Port Refuge. The soundings given in the accompanying chart, are what were taken by Captain Bethune, of the Royal Navy, when in command of the "Conway" in 1838; but the sketch of the harbour then made was inaccurate in several particulars. These errors have been corrected in the present chart; but the scale of its projection would not admit a view of the coast and islands, to the eastward. As, however, that side of the group is rendered utterly unapproachable by ships, in consequence of extensive reefs, the omission is of the less moment.

504 487 133 There are two entrances to the harbour, both of which are perfectly free from dangers. The widest is that to the north-west. The other lies to the south-west, between the islands of Huga and Niuababu. That channel is only about three-quarters of a mile wide, but it is deep, and entirely free from obstructions. We entered, in the "Triton," by that from the north-west. Passing between two



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[Facing p. 149-A]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

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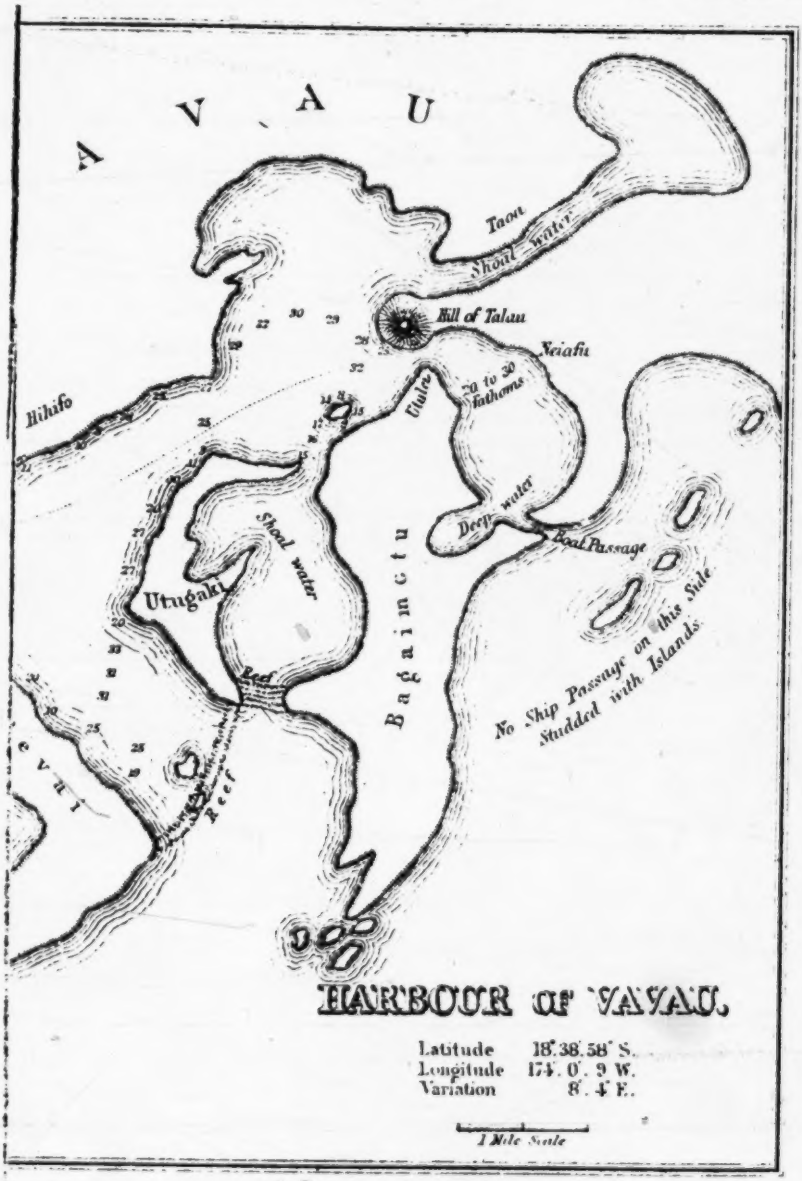

[facing p. 149-B]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

bluff and precipitous rocky islets, that seem to stand as sentinels over the sea-gates, we skirted the Vavau coast, having the towering cliffs of Mouga Lafa on our left, and the island of Huga on the right. Upon doubling the headland of the former, the natural formation and exquisite beauty of the harbour began to unfold before us. Behind lay Huga and Niuababu, shutting out from sight the distant and lofty peak of Late, while, at the same time, effectually protecting the harbour from the heavy swell of the sea, from the west and south-west. On the right lay the bay of Niuababu, formed by the eastern shores of that island, and the western side of Falevai. Several small islands lie in this bay; and its southern extremity is bounded by a shoal reef, extending across the strait, between the two islands just named. The reef has no opening, and is only passable by boats at the time of high water. No correct survey of the bay has been made, but it is clear of sunken rocks or reefs. Anchorage can be found in front of Falevai, and, probably, in the vicinity of the small islands. But a glance at the chart will show, that in the event of a gale from the north, or north-west, the bay would not afford a safe shelter for shipping.

The northern extremities of Niuababu, and Falevai, consist of high and perpendicular cliffs, crowned by thick woods and groves of cocoa palms. The sloping highlands of Hihifo are also covered with dense and rich vegetation, to within a few feet of the sea. The only bare spot is that which forms the table-land of Mouga Lafa.

Leaving Niuababu and Falevai behind, and keeping a course to the N.N.E., the harbour be-

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. 512
In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted.

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains.

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54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

sails a shore to repair and a party cuting wood for fuel and Plank for the use of the Ship. The gunners of both Ships were ordered a shore to traffick with the natives, who thronged from all parts with Hogs, yams, & cocoanuts &c[a] so that our little post was like a fair and the Ships so thronged that we had hardly room to stir on the decks.

Feenough had taken up his residence near us, but he was no longer the acting man, we however found him to be a man of consequence and property and still continued to make us presents of Hogs &c[a]. As to the King scarce a day pa[s]t that had not some thing considerable from him. We heard of other great men which we had not yet seen particularly one *Mariwaggy*,[1] who we understood was Fattafee Polaho's Father and the first man on the island, but that he was an old man and would not visit us; some even hinted, that he was too great a man to be seen by us, at least so Omai interpreted it.[2] The account they gave of this Chief made me very desirious of seeing him and I at last prevailed on Fattafee the King to accompany me the next Morning to the place of his residence. Accordingly we set out Thur. 12 pretty early, accompaned by Captain Clerke in his own boat, Omai and some of the officers. We proceeded round and to the Eastward of the isles that forms the harbour and then entered a large inlet up which we rowed about one league and then landed near to the residence of this great man.[3] We had no sooner landed then we were told that he was gone to the Ships. I susspected this was not true, but that he was gone out of the way in order not to be seen by us,as some had suggested. Pequed at being thus disapointed, after a short stay I returned on board, when we found Mariwaggy had not been nor was he expected. It however afterwards appeared that Omai

[1] Macaliuaki.

[2] Macaliuaki was certainly Paulaho's 'classificatory father': the term *tamai*, father, would include all paternal male affines. He was indeed a very great man, and in a secular sense certainly the 'first man on the island', and indeed in all Tonga; for having been Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua (the fourteenth and last of the succession), hence deriving great prestige and privilege, he became Tu'i Kanokupolu (the eighth of that line)—and it was the Tu'i Kanokupolu who was the effective principal ruler of the group. Cf. II, p. lxxv. A venerable figure, 'grey with age', as Cook notes below, he was to die later in this year 1777.

[3] The place of this landing is traditionally remembered. Cook had to take the same circuitous route anyone must take nowadays from the Nuku'alofa jetty—round the islands and into the lagoon through an extraordinary mass of coral reefs. The lagoon forms two arms. Just off the present road, which runs close to the lagoon, a little south-west of the large village of Mu'a, is a very little cove, part of a larger wide cove at the bottom of the eastern arm of Mu'a inlet; and here, it is said, Cook stepped ashore. He could hardly do so now. Mangroves have crept all round and the shore is very muddy; trees hang over the water and the coral of the bank has fallen away in large pieces; a few yards from the water a huge banyan (*Ficus obliqua*) marks the scene. The place is called Alaki, though the village of Alaki has been moved a mile or so to the south. It is possible, however, that tradition is mistaken in being quite so precise, because the text (p. 138 below) refers to the village as 'Moa' or Mu'a; ancient Mu'a, however, was very near, and it is even possible that Alaki village did not then exist.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127]

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

tops of the Mounts round the houses, there were a few rude Images of the human figure, of different ages. We were told they were there as monuments to the Memory of the dead and not the representation of any Deity.[1] Such monuments they seldom raise for these seemed to be very old. In one of the house[s] was the Carved head of an Otaheite Canoe which had been driven a shore on their coast and deposited here. After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed our selves on what we carried with us, some of us took a Walk into the Country making a pretty large circuit attended by one of the Kings Ministers,[2] our train was not great as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us, he also obliged all those whom we met to sit down till we pass'd a respect due only to their Kings. We found by far the greatest part of the Country cultivated and planted with one kind of production or a nother and the most of these plantations were fenced round. Some old Plantations lay uncultivated or in fallow, and there were places that had never been touched but lay in a state of Nature but even these places were usefull in affording them timber &c[a] with which they were generally covered. We met with several large uninhabited house[s] which we were told belonged to the King or the Lord of the Manor;[3] there were many publick and well beaten roads and as many foot paths leading to every part of the island. The roads were good and the Country level consequently traveling was easy. On the most elevated parts, we met with coral rock close to the surface, perforated and cut into all those inequalities we see them in the wash of the sea, yet these very rocks with hardly any soil upon them were covered with a luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools and some springs of Water, but the most of them were either stinking or brackish tho recommended as excellent.[4] The

[1] These three mounts seem to have been the great *langi*, called Tuoteau, Katoa and Tuofefafa, with a smaller fourth one in front, unnoticed by Cook, called Tauatonga. Cook does not mention stone-work, apart from the wall, so the stone of the *langi* may have been heaped over with earth. These lay to the north of the eastern side of the great *mala'e*, and in front of them was a smaller *mala'e*. Within them were the stone vaults or burial chambers. The houses, *falatolia*, were set up to protect the central part of the covering of fine black volcanic pebbles, called *kilikili*, which marked a vault. The information about the 'rude Images' being 'monuments' or commemorative figures was probably correctly gathered: cf. II, p. 251. The Tongans did not carve representations of their gods.

[2] No doubt a *matapule*, one of the non-chiefly but important officials on whom administration so much depended, attendant on a chief and sometimes his spokesman.

[3] By 'Lord of the Manor' Cook presumably means an '*eiki*, a great chief or 'noble', whose power, under that of the Tu'i Tonga, was territorial, as well as extending to the persons of the common people.

[4] Williamson, 20 June, provides a dissenting opinion: '. . . I have great reason to think that fresh water might be had by sinking a well at some distance from the lagoon, & am the more confirmed in this opinion from the many wells of delightful water, which we met with during our prerigrinations, some not less than thirty feet deep, & made extremely neat & clean.'

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

SUNDAY 18th. The wind E . Moderate breezes with good weather. The Gunner was employ'd to trade on shore and purchas'd a good many hogs, plantanes &c but the greatest supply we had was a present which Fee'nou made the Captain of a vast quantity of Yams, Plantanes, Sugar cane &c and two hogs, which was shar'd between the two ships. Amongst other things we purchas'd yesterday a fine green Turtle of above 300 Lib., & to day the decks were so crowded with the natives who came to barter or were incited by curiosity that it was almost impossible to stir.

MONDAY 19th. The wind Easterly. Gentle breezes with fine weather. We continued to barter with the natives on shore as yesterday and a great number were on board.

As we wanted to obtain some knowledge of the country some of us mention'd it to Fee'nou, who sent a person as a guide and to protect us from any insult from the natives. We travers'd nearly the whole island of Lai'fooga and found it in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and extensive and we found large spots well planted with the Morus papyrifera (paper Mulberry),[1] but in many places towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste owing perhaps to the sandy soil, as it is much lower than Annamooka or its surrounding isles. Towards the middle of the island the soil is better and much better inhabited than the other parts, for we met here with very large plantations, fenc'd in in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form'd fine spacious roads that would appear an ornament in the most civilizd countrys. It however labours under the inconvenience of having no good water that we could see, for though we found several ponds the water was either very brackish or stinking, and in some large holes in the coral rock which is seldom above two or three feet from the surface it was no better than common sea water. At one place we saw an artificial mount rais'd to a considerable height with an arbour of low trees neatly contriv'd, under which our guide made us understand people sate to catch pigeons.[2] At another place was a house four or five times as large as the common sort with a large area of grass before it which seem'd a place for the people to resort publickly to;[3] and near the landing place we saw one of their burying grounds, which was a mount two or three feet high coverd with gravel and had four or five small huts on it, in which they said the bodys of some of their principle people were interr'd.[4] Most of the

[1] *Broussonetia papyrifera*, Tongan Hiapo.
[2] Tongan *mala'e*.
[3] One of the mounds called *tialupe*.
[4] A *fa'itoka*.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

assume a rocky appearance towards the NE point though not above seven or eight feet high, and neither of these places have any shelter for ships, at least the S side which is bold on every part and has a high surf breaking on it. At the W or rather NW end is an open road,[1] where Tasman anchor'd in 1643 and Captn Cook in 1773, but besides being unsheltered the ground is very foul, and Maria bay near the W end on the N side is far from being a good harbour for large ships from its shoals & difficult entrance. The place where we lay is exactly in S Latitude, E Longitude, and forms a harbour every way safe and convenient with a good landing place, except just at low water when a sandy flat that runs off a little way prevents the Boats getting quite close. It is near the middle on the north side of the island, and though in the neighbourhood of perhaps the least inhabited part of it, is not less convenient as the natives will always bring supplies, and there is less danger of being pester'd by their numbers. A ship coming here ought to make the NE part of the island, and run down between the main and little isles lying off it till she has pass'd the narrow between Makka'ha and Mon'ooafai, which we went out by, and then haul up for the Harbour within Pangiamotoo supposing the wind SEterly which is commonly the case. As the passage we came in by to the Noward is neither safe nor easy the best method is to wait for a breeze from the Wtward or Noward, which frequently blows, to repass the strait of Mon'ooafai, or if time will not permit to work through with a flood tide as we did, the length of the whole passage between the isles and main not exceeding four leagues.

It is what may with the greatest propriety be calld a low island, as the trees on the west part when we lay at anchor only appear'd, and the only eminent part which can be seen from a ship is the SE point, though many gently rising and declining grounds are observable when on shore. The general appearance of the country does not afford that beautifull kind of Landscape often produc'd from a variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets and cascades but at the same time it conveys to the spectator an idea of the most exuberant fertility, whether we respect the places improv'd by art or those still in a natural state, both which yield all its vegetable productions with the greatest vigour and perpetual verdure. At a distance the surface seems entirely cloath'd with trees of various sizes, some of which are very large, but above the rest the tall Cocoa palms always raise their tufted heads and are far from being the smallest ornament

[1] Van Diemen's Road.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

nothing but the trees that cover them, but here the land rising gently upwards presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspers'd at irregular distances in beautifull disorder and the rest coverd with grass. Near the shore again it is quite cover'd with various trees amongst which are the habitations of the natives, and to the right of our station was one of the most extensive groves of Cocoa palms I ever saw.

SUNDAY 13th. The wind E. Fresh breezes with cloudy Wr & in the evening a little rain. Brought off a Launch load of water. Traded on shore for a good number of Yams and some hogs.

In the afternoon a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island, which was a little to the right, and in our way pass'd a deep valley or rather chasm which is very narrow. About half way up we could see that part of the island under us extended into a large down which had several risings interspersd with small clusters of trees, but quite uncultivated, and coverd with grass about the height of the knee where numberless cattle might be fed. On the top we found a round heap of coral stones which they call'd E'tchee as that at Tonga, and seem'd to say it was a mark of Poulahos sovereignty over the island. At this place was also a spring of excellent water, and though we found Coral rock at the surface, on crossing the deep valley which is several hundred feet above the sea we saw here a soft reddish rock and some sand stone. The top of the island from this to the north point is an extended flat like that before mentioned, behind which it rises gradually; but the east side of the island, though it has a flat like the opposite one, terminates in steep craggs towards the sea and is at this place in all not above five or six miles broad. Besides the plants common on the other isles we found on the height a species of Acrosticum,[1] Melastoma[2] and Fern tree[3] with a few other ferns and plants not common below. Amongst the rest was the Jeejee in its natural state which grows eight or ten feet high. We return'd by another road which led us through a wooded part of the country and about third way down met with a little pool of excellent water which kept running into a much larger below, but we could not follow it as the valley was rugged and the natives say it does not reach the sea unless when it rains much. We found they burnt the grass in many places but could not discover that it was intended for planting, although they have a few spots cultivated almost to the top.

[1] Probably this was the fern Hakato, *Acrostichum aureum*.
[2] *Melastoma denticulatum*, a branched spreading shrub called in Tonga Pesikuku.
[3] The fern tree Longolongo, *Cycas circinalis*, found all over Tonga, and especially common on 'Eua.

[440 cont.]

175 by it in the most shocking manner; there was only a hole left in the
164 place of her nose; her cheeks were swelled up and continually
oozing out a purulent matter; and her eyes seemed ready to fall out
[439] of her head, being bloody and sore. These were some of the most
miserable objects I recollect ever to have seen; and yet they seemed
to be quite unconcerned about their misfortunes, traded as briskly
as any of the rest, and what was most nauseous, had provisions to
sell.

175 After dinner Dr. Sparrman remained on board with me, in order
122 to arrange our acquisitions of the morning, and my father again
[126] accompanied the captains to the shore, with a view to collect a fresh
supply. They returned about sunset, and my father gave the following
account of this excursion.

175 "At the landing-place the natives welcomed us with shouts as in
439 the morning, and the croud being as numerous as ever, the trade was
carried on very briskly, but provisions were scarce, and shaddocks in
particular not at all to be had, as the season was not yet sufficiently
175 advanced. Mr. Hodges, myself, and one servant, left the trading-place with
123 [441]two of the natives, whom we engaged to become our guides in
case of necessity, and walked up the hill to view the interior part
175 of the country. Our walk lay through a number of rich plantations or
311 gardens, enclosed as before mentioned with fences of reeds, or with
417
137 quick-hedges of the beautiful coral flower, (erythrina corallodendron.)
175 Beyond these we entered into a lane between two enclosures, and
311 observed bananas and yams planted in rows on both sides, with as much
487
[214] order and regularity as we employ in our agriculture. This lane
[215] opened into a fine extensive plain, covered with rich grasses. Having

[441 cont.]

175 crossed it, we met with a most delightful walk about a mile in
311
487 length, formed of four rows of coco-nut trees, which ended in another lane between plantations of great regularity surrounded by shaddocks and other trees. It led through a cultivated valley to a spot where several paths crossed each other or met in one.
175 Here we saw a fine lawn covered with a delicate green turf, and
351 surrounded by large shady trees on all sides. In one corner of it there was a house, which was empty at present, its inhabitants being
175 probably by the water's side. Mr. Hodges sat down to draw this
126 delightful spot. We breathed the most delicious air in the world,
175 fraught with odours which might have revived a dying man; the sea
[136] breeze played with our hair and gently cooled us; a number of small birds twittered on all sides, and many amorous doves cooed harmoniously in the deepest shade of [442] the tree under which we were
[137] seated. The tree was remarkable for its roots, which came out of the stem near eight feet above the ground, and for its pods of more than a yard long, and two or three inches broad. This secluded spot, so rich in the best productions of nature, where we sat solitary with no other human being besides our two natives, struck us with the idea of enchanted ground, which being the creation of our own gay fancy, is commonly adorned with all possible beauties at once. In fact, there could not have been a more desirable spot for a little place of retirement, according to the elegant imagination of Horace, if it had only been supplied with a crystal fountain or
[312] a little murmuring rill! But water is unfortunately the only blessing
[764] denied this charming little island. To the left of this spot we
[487] discovered a shady walk, that brought us to another grassy lawn, at

[442 cont.]

175 764 [487] [417] [137] the bottom of which we perceived a little mount with two huts upon it. A number of reeds stuck into the ground, at the distance of one foot asunder, encompassed this rising, and several casuarinas, with their slender branches and thread-like leaves, were planted before it. The natives, whom we had engaged to accompany us, would not approach this mount; but we advanced and looked into the huts, though with great difficulty, because the bottom of the roof was not above a span from the ground. We found a corse in one of these huts, which had been lately deposited; but 175 764 137 171 the other was [443] empty. Thus the casuarina or club-wood (toà), here, as in the Society Islands, pointed out the repositories of the dead. Its dull brownish-green colour, and its long spreading branches, where the leaves are thinly scattered and hang weeping down, certainly become these melancholy places to the full as well as the 175 764 181 funereal cypress. It is therefore probable that the same train of ideas, which consecrated the latter in one part of the world to shade the tombs, might fix upon the former in these regions for a similar 175 764 purpose. The mount on which the huts were placed was formed of small pieces of coral rock, like gravel, accumulated without any 175 311 361 particular order. From thence we proceeded a little farther, and still found the same elegant plantations and the same kind of houses in the middle as before. Our natives conducted us through one of 175 609 them, where they entreated us to sit down, and procured some coco 175 123 nuts, which proved extremely refreshing. At our return we found our boats just ready to put off, and embarked with them immediately. [609] We had only seen a few of the natives on our walk, who passed unconcernedly by us towards the place where the captains traded; and

175 [448 cont.]
311 Part of it appeared to have been planted
[244] with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
[133] in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
[136] resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
[487] a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
[417] enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
[609] the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
[201] provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
175 [449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
351 enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
184 as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
175 shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
137 manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
175 pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
311 which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
181 advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

175 One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
137 which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
[136] far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[172 cont.]

609 obliged to return to the shore, very much discontented. Immediately
175 after breakfast, Dr. Sparrman, my father and myself accompanied
489 captain Cook to the shore, where a trade commenced for shaddocks and
175 yams, which the natives sold us in prodigious quantities. Bananas and coco-nuts were scarce in proportion, and bread-fruit still more
291 rare, though the trees of these sorts were very numerous. All the
175 men went nearly naked, a slight covering on the loins excepted; a few of them, however, and most of the women, were drest from the waist to the ankles, in a piece of stiff painted cloth made of bark, wrapped several times round them, or in mats.

As soon as our boats reached the shore, the clamours of all those
439 who had something to sell became so excessively loud, that we hastened
175 into the country, whose aspect was very inviting. A considerable
137 variety of plants covered the [173] ground in wild luxuriance; and the
241 great number of plantations of all sorts, made the whole island resemble
175 a beautiful garden. The fences which had confined the view at Tonga-
489 Tabboo, were here much less frequent, and only enclosed one side of
175 the path, leaving the other open to the eye. The ground was not
[417] perfectly level in the interior parts, but rose in several little
489 hillocks lined with hedges and bushes, which formed a most agreeable
137 prospect. The path which we met with, sometimes went under long rows
241 of lofty trees, planted at considerable distances, between which the
175 ground was covered with the richest verdure; sometimes a thick and impenetrable arbour of fragrant shubberies vaulted over it for a considerable space, and hid it entirely from the sun; sometimes
342 plantations, and sometimes wilds appeared on both sides. The houses
175 of the natives were of a singular structure; their height was about

161 Table 7. Population of Tongatapu (including 'Atata and
162 'Eueiki), other islands, and Tonga.

Area	1921	1939	1956	1966
Tongatapu	9,794	15,754	31,264	47,920
Other Islands	13,965	18,376	25,574	29,509
Tonga	23,759	34,130	56,833	77,429

Sources: Tupouniua, 1958:41; Fiefia, 1968:9.

class on Tongatapu.

178 The local marketplace, Talamahu Market, is becoming
433 increasingly important as a source of food for the non-agrarian sector of the population and as a source of cash for the agrarian sectors.

175 Settlement Patterns

361 At the time of European contact, the settlement pattern was reportedly of dispersed residences on individual
[351] garden allotments in the bush. Tasman, in 1643, found that "each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences" (Wood, 1945:15). Cook, in 1773, described Tongatapu as follows:

[487] > The lanes or roads necessary for travelling are laid out in a judicious manner, as to open a free and easy communication from one part of the island to the other. Here are no town or villages; most of the houses are built in the plantations, with no other order than what conveniency requires (Gifford, 1929:5).

96: Lister N-5 (1889-1890) 1891
OU9 Tonga OU9

[Vavau Group) 133

arms of the sea. The islets are grouped about this coast, in some cases continuing the lines of the promontories. The beautiful and secluded harbour of Neiafu is bounded in part by two of these promontories, and protected from the sea by one of the larger islets situated between them. It forms a long basin more than 20 fathoms deep over the greater part, and almost entirely surrounded by land over 100 feet in height.

The surface rock all over the group consists, so far as I am aware, of limestone. I was unable to find the underlying basis at any point. Even at the foot of the high cliffs on the northern shore the rock, at the two points at which I saw it, was of this nature, and I found no fragments of volcanic or any other formation than limestone on the beaches. Although I saw no vertical cliff at this part of the island, extending from the top to the shore, the coast-line is in many places so steep that I have no doubt that the formation attains a thickness of at least 300 feet. It consisted for the most part of a hard homogeneous material, but at one point, in the lower part of the cliff, numbers of large bivalve shells were embedded.

The main mass of the island presents an undulating surface, gradually sloping from the high northern border towards the south. Though there are valley-like depressions in several places, I came upon none which contained streams or even ravines. Springs of fresh water issue from the rock at many points on the shore.

The outlying islands to the south of the group, as may be seen by the Admiralty chart (No. 2357), are surrounded by coral-reefs, which in many cases extend as broad expanses far from the island with which they are connected. As the inlets penetrate among the islands and promontories, and their shores are cut off from the open ocean, the reefs become narrower or disappear; though in some cases (as in the inlet to the north of the promontory in which Neiafu is situated) there are coral reefs of considerable extent growing far up in the sheltered channels.

There is one feature which at once strikes a visitor approaching the group by the usual steamboat course from the south-west and passing up to the harbour of Neiafu, namely, that the off-lying islands and projecting points of the main island, on either hand, are flat-topped when seen in profile, and that the majority of them stand approximately at one of three levels of elevation above the sea. Corresponding in level with the tops of the lower islands there are, moreover, terraces on the sides of the intermediate and highest ones; and in the same way there are, on the sides of the highest points of land, terraces whose level corresponds with the tops of the islands of an intermediate height. [487) C

The islands and promontories may thus be described as being one-, two-, or three-storied (see fig. 3).

On first entering the group, the flat one-storied islands Hunga and Nuipapa lie on either hand: their sides drop vertically into the sea and are deeply undermined below by the action of the waves. Right ahead stands up the mass of Mo'unga Lafa (=Flat Mountain), whose densely wooded sides present two well-marked terraces in

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 609]